

we must work to reduce the perceptions and the real conditions that allow terrorists and others to foment hatred toward our Nation. If we do not understand and deal with how our actions are perceived internationally, we will run the risk of defeating Saddam Hussein only to foster new threats and new hatreds elsewhere.

We can and must dedicate ourselves to the battle against terrorism, and we can and must hope the pressure applied to the Iraqi regime will bring about change and greater security. But as we seek that end, we must not neglect the challenges we face here at home; and we must not neglect our responsibility to address those challenges with honesty, forthrightness, and a sense of justice, fairness and a sense of shared sacrifice befitting a truly great Nation in times such as these.

The President of the United States and all Members of Congress have dedicated their hearts, minds and souls to protecting the safety and well-being of the American people. There are legitimate differences about how to achieve that in these times; but whatever the result of this vote, let no one question the motives, the courage, or the patriotism of those who will make this fateful decision.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. BARRETT), a member of the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

Mr. BARRETT of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, President Bush spoke on Monday night about the many threats Saddam Hussein poses to international security and why the President believes he should have the authority to launch a preemptive, unilateral attack on Iraq to force a regime change in that nation.

While I respect the President and his sincerity in seeking this authority, I am not convinced that such an attack is in the best interest of our Nation.

We all agree that Saddam Hussein is a dangerous man, yet that is not the topic under discussion here tonight. We are debating whether a unilateral military invasion is the best way to address the threats posed by Iraq. I must vote no on this grave issue because I am not persuaded that a preemptive, unilateral attack is the most effective way to control Saddam Hussein.

I agree with President Bush that the United States, in conjunction with our allies in Europe and the Middle East, must make a new effort to readmit a weapons inspectors into Iraq. A new inspection policy must give U.N. personnel unfettered access to any and every facility and have the ability to conduct unannounced surprise inspections. This new effort needs the full and vigorous cooperation of the U.N., NATO and nations in the Middle East. A united front is essential to success, and the international community must join the U.S. in enforcing U.N. resolutions.

As we survey the international community, however, nations in Europe

and the Middle East, including key allies, range from lukewarm to downright hostile to the idea of launching a solo strike against Iraq. Many nations would react negatively to such an action, viewing such a preemptive U.S. attack as overly aggressive.

The world's response to our attack could easily include a global anti-American backlash, severely hampering our ability to fight the war on terrorism, build security and peace in the Middle East, and protect vital U.S. interests. We must not forget that the war on terror requires the support and cooperation of our key allies in the Middle East, Europe and around the world. We rely on these nations to root out terror cells within their borders and share with us important information.

We must also remember that since the end of the Gulf War the U.S. has kept a close eye on Iraq. We have maintained a strong military presence in the region, imposed sanctions, conducted thousands of military flights over no-fly zones, and focused our intelligence community on Baghdad. We have made clear that any misbehavior by Saddam would be met immediately by overwhelming force. As a result of our deterrence, Saddam Hussein has not attacked Saudi Arabia, Israel, Kuwait or others since the Gulf War because he knows that such a move would bring the full weight of the U.S. and the world upon him. His desire to cling to power supersedes his hunger for conquest.

If we strike first, we change that dynamic. Knowing his survival would be at stake, Saddam would have a powerful incentive to use every weapon in his arsenal to defeat American troops. He might target Israel, hoping to fan the flames of conflict between Israel and the Arab world to create chaos in the region.

I am concerned that our preemptive unilateral strike would trigger the very events we hope to avoid: regional war, rampant instability, and use of weapons of mass destruction.

We also must recognize that a preemptive unilateral attack against Iraq would represent a major shift in American diplomatic and strategic thinking.

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For nearly 50 years we relied upon deterrence to check upon Soviet expansionism. Deterrence brought us victory in the Cold War without having to fight a hot shooting war under the shadow of nuclear annihilation. That same strategy has kept Iraq at bay for more than a decade.

Now that doctrine is on the verge of being discarded. The potential consequence of such a shift in strategic thinking includes an emboldened China moving against Taiwan, Russia acting aggressively against the nations of her former empire, and India and Pakistan attacking each other with nuclear weapons.

There are several other critical questions to which we have heard very few

answers. We must have a clear plan on how an attack on Iraq would transpire, including identifying our military options, determining our strategy to change the regime, calculating the potential casualties, and estimating how much an operation would cost and how it would be funded. We must also see a plan to build democratic and free market institutions in a post-Saddam Iraq. History teaches us that how we win the peace is just as critical as how we win war. Thus far these critical issues have received scant attention.

The international community has an important obligation to ensure that Saddam Hussein cannot repeat the aggression of his past; and as the world's most powerful country, we have a commitment to lead. Through U.N. inspections, continued monitoring, and increased scrutiny of Baghdad we can meet that responsibility. We cannot, however, move in a unilateral manner that could jeopardize the peace and security of the Middle East if not the world. I must vote "no" on H.J. Resolution 114 and urge my colleagues to do the same.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. SCOTT), one of our top constitutional lawyers in this House.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, if our goal is to disarm Iraq, I believe the best way to accomplish that goal would be to utilize the strategy articulated a few weeks ago by Secretary of State Colin Powell, that is, to reinstate, utilizing established rules and supported by multilateral military force if necessary. This policy has the best chance of working, and it has the support of the international community. If military force is needed to enforce the inspections, it will be targeted, focused, and not requiring a massive invasion force. It will be unlikely to provoke widespread warfare all over the Middle East; and it is just as likely to fulfill the goal of disarming Iraq as widespread bombing.

If on the other hand we merely start dropping bombs, how do we even know where to bomb if we have not inspected first? If we do know where the weapons are, those locations can be placed first on the inspection list, and if there is any resistance to the inspection, multilateral military force could be targeted on those sites.

But today we are discussing a resolution authorizing the use of force before the inspectors have even had an opportunity to do their jobs. This resolution represents the last opportunity for Congress to have a meaningful input in the decision to go to war, and unfortunately there are many problems and unanswered questions with granting this authority now.

The first problem is that although the resolution suggests that the President first try to work with the U.N., that provision is unenforceable. This is a problem especially because the President has already stated that he did not